

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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R 131200Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7965

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TAGS: PINT, EGEN, EFIN, JM

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION PRESENTATION ON 1975-1976 BUDGET

REF: KINGSTON 2087

1. SUMMARY: JLP LEADER SEAGA IN HIS BUDGET SPEECH CALLED FOR A REFLATION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO INFUSE NEW DYNAMISM INTO THE ECONOMY. POINTING TO THE LARGE BUDGET DEFICIT AS THE RESULT OF GOVERNMENT MISMANAGEMENT AND OVERSPENDING, HE CLAIMED THE ECONOMY HAD JUST ABOUT REACHED ITS CAPACITY TO TAX AND BORROW. THE CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND WILL BE DISSIPATED IN FINANCING THE DEFICIT. CITING A BANK OF JAMAICA REPORT, SEAGA WARNED THAT WITH AN EXPECTED REVENUE SHORTFALL FROM BAUXITE, THE BUDGET DEFICIT WILL BE LARGER THAN PREDICTED AND GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO EXERCISE STRICT IMPORT, SPENDING, AND BORROWING CONTROLS, IF DEVALUATION OF THE JAMAICAN DOLLAR IS TO BE AVOIDED.

2. FOLLOWING THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE ORDER OF SPEAKERS,
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THE JLP WALKOUT, AND SUBSEQUENT CLOSURE OF THE DEBATE

(REF A), OPPOSITION LEADER EDWARD SEAGA MADE HIS BUDGET PRESENTATION JUNE 6 AT THE PEGASUS HOTEL. IT WAS BROADCAST NATIONALLY ON RADIO WITH JLP PURCHASED TIME. FOLLOWING ARE THE HIGHLIGHTS OF SEAGA'S REMARKS.

3. REVENUE:--CONTENDING THAT "MORE IS NOT AN ANSWER, NOR A STRATEGY, BUT IS WHAT IS EXPECTED" SEAGE ASSERTED THAT JAMAICA WAS ON THE SAME COLLISION COURSE OF BANKRUPTCY WHICH HE HAD INDICATED IN 1973 AND FROM WHICH THE NATION WAS SAVED AT THE LAST MINUTE BY THE BAUXITE LEVY. THE ECONOMY IS REACHING ITS TABABLE CAPACITY. REVENUE FROM EXCISE DUTY, THE RETAIL SALES TAX AND PROPERTY TAX DROPPED LAST YEAR. THESE MAJOR AREAS OF REDUCED REVENUE WERE OFFSET BY SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED INCOME TAX RECEIPTS. SEAGA DREW THE CONCLUSION THAT THE ECONOMY SHOWED STRONG EVIDENCE OF STAGNANCY BUT ONCE AGAIN INFLATION CAUSED TAXPAYERS TO EARN BIGGER SALARIES AND SO PAY MORE INCOME TAX WHICH SAVED THE DAY.

4. BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF REVENUE LAST YEAR TO MEASURE UP TO EXPECTATIONS, EMERGENCY HELP HAD TO BE SOUGHT FROM THE CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND (CDF) WHICH IS OPERATED FROM THE BAUXITE LEVY DEPOSITS. GOVERNMENT DREW DOWN \$85 MILLION FROM THE CDF TO CLOSE THE END OF YEAR FINANCIAL GAP. SEAGA POINTED OUT THAT IF THE CDF WITHDRAWAL WERE A ONE TIME EVENT IT WOULD BE ONE THING. "BUT IN FACT THAT \$85 MILLION HAD TO PAY SALARIES AND OTHER HOUSEKEEPING EXPENDITURES OF GOVERNMENT AND INSTEAD OF BEING A ONE TIME PAYMENT IT IS NOW VIRTUALLY LOCKED INTO THE COUNTRY'S EXPENDITURE, YEAR AFTER YEAR."

5. LOANS/NATIONAL DEBT: -- THE NATIONAL DEBT, WHICH WAS \$290 MILLION IN MARCH 1972, IS EXPECTED TO REACH \$827 MILLION BY MARCH 1976. WHEREAS ONLY 11 1/2 O/O OF THE GOVERNMENT'S RECURRENT REVENUE HAD TO BE SET ASIDE TO SERVICE THE DEBT IN 1972, 20 O/O WILL BE REQUIRED BY MARCH 1976 -- OR \$105 MILLION. COMPLICATING THE DEBT PICTURE IS THE FACT THAT WHILE OVERSEAS FUNDS ARE NOW AVAILABLE AT ATTRACTIVE RATES OF INTEREST THEIR MATURITIES HAVE SO SHORTENED THAT ONLY 5-YEAR LOANS ARE AVAILABLE. AS A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONSEQUENCE TWO-THIRDS OF JAMAICA'S DEBT IS DUE FOR REPAYMENT OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS, AND MORE THAN ONE-THIRD WITHIN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. ONE WAY OF DELAYING THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT, ACCORDINT TO SEAGA, IS TO MAKE GREATER USE OF INSTITUTIONAL FUNDS SUCH AS THE IBRD AND IADB, WHICH OFFER CONCESSIONAL RATES OF INTEREST WITH LONG TERM MATURITIES. THE GOVERNMENT'S RECORD OF UTILIZING THESE SOURCES, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN POOR DUE TO ITS INABILITY TO

STAFF PROJECT REQUESTS. LAST YEAR ONLY 42 O/O OF THE
CONCESSIONAL FUNDS AVAILABLE WERE DRAWN.

6. AS FOREIGN DEBT HAS TO BE PAID FOR IN FOREIGN CUR-
RENCY, THE RATIO OF FX RESERVES TO DEBT IS CRITICAL.
IND DECEMBER 1972 FX RESERVES WERE 1 2/3 TIMES LARGER
THAN THE EXTERNAL DEBT. BY DECEMBER 1974 AVAILABLE FX
RESERVES WOULD ONLY COVER ONE-HALF OF THE EXTERNAL
LIABILITIES. SEAGA CONCLUDED THAT JAMAICA IS REACHING
ITS BORROWING CAPACITY AND IT IS SMALL WONDER THAT
GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FORCED TO BORROW COPIOUS AMOUNTS
FROM THE CDF TO FINANCE THE BUDGETARY DEFICIT.

7. EXPENDITURE ESTIMATES: -- SEAGA CASTIGATED THE
GOVERNMENT FOR WITHHOLDING THE ESSENTIAL FUNDS NEEDED
TO EXPAND BANANA CULTIVATION IMMEDIATELY BY DELAYING
PROVISION OF ADDITIONAL LOAN FUNDS FOR NEW PLANTINGS.
HE CLAIMED THAT \$1 MILLION INVESTED IN INCREASED CULTI-
VATION CAN YIELD 20,000 TONS OF FRUIT AND \$6 MILLION IN
FX EARNINGS. HE CALLED FOR GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE \$3
MILLION OF NEW LOAN FUNDS FOR BANANA INDUSTRY.

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8. AFTER CHARTING THE DECLINING GROWTH IN THE TOURIST INDUSTRY, SEAGA CHIDED THE GOVERNMENT FOR NOT ABIDING BY THE GENERALLY KNOWN RULE IN TOURISM THAT WHEN IN TROUBLE, INCREASE EXPENDITURE ON PROMOTION. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF MAJOR CUTS IN TOURIST BOARD REQUESTS FOR FUNDS, COUPLED WITH THE INCREASED COST OF ADVERTISING MEDIA SPACE, THERE HAS BEEN A SUBSTANTIAL DECREASE IN REAL TERMS OF THE TOURIST INDUSTRY'S PROMOTIONAL EFFORTS. SEAGA WARNED THAT IF GOVERNMENT DID NOT CHANGE ITS POSITION THE TOURIST INDUSTRY WOULD BEGIN TO DECLINE AND WOULD RESULT IN GOVERNMENT HAVING TO FACE A LARGE EXPENDITURE FOR THE PURPOSE OF HONORING GUARANTEES GIVEN TO CERTAIN HOTELS AS WELL AS THE LOSS OF MANY JOBS IN THE INDUSTRY.

9. THE WATER CRISIS: -- SEAGA CHIDED GOVERNMENT FOR PROVIDING FUNDS FOR ELABORATE DEVELOPMENT PLANS IN HOUSING, AGRICULTURE, ETC., IN SOUTHERN JAMAICA BUT FAILING TO PROVIDE FUNDS TO DEVELOP ADEQUATE WATER RESOURCES WHICH THESE PROJECTS WOULD REQUIRE.

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10. THE NATIONAL PIONEER CORPS: -- QUOTING A MINISTRY PAPER, SEAGA DETAILED THE MISAPPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC FUNDS IN THE NATIONAL PIONEER CORPS PROGRAM THROUGH THE THEFT OF MATERIALS, PHANTOM PAYROLLING, ETC. HE CALLED FOR AN IMMEDIATE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY TO DETERMINE WHERE THE MISSING \$500,000 HAD GONE.

11. FINANCING THE BUDGET: -- MASSIVE OVER-EXPENDITURE BY GOVERNMENT HAS BROUGHT ON A BUDGETARY CRISIS. IN 1973/74 THERE WAS A SURPLUS OF \$10.7 MILLION REVENUE OVER RECURRENT EXPENDITURE. IN 1974/75 THE SITUATION DRAMATICALLY CHANGED AND A DEFICIT OF \$81.4 MILLION WAS EXPERIENCED WHICH REQUIRED AN \$85 MILLION DRAWDOWN FROM THE CDF. THIS YEAR'S BUDGET WILL START WITH A DEFICIT OF \$125 MILLION, WHICH IS TO BE COVERED BY THE CDF. ADDITIONALLY, IF GOVERNMENT SHOWS THE SAME LACK OF FISCAL RESTRAINT, A NET OVER-EXPENDITURE OF \$40 MILLION IN THIS FINANCIAL YEAR IS MOST LIKELY, WHICH CAN ONLY BE COVERED BY THE CDF. WITH THE MOST OPTIMISTIC ESTIMATE OF BAUXITE LEVY PAYMENTS INTO THE CDF RUNNING AROUND \$170 MILLION, IT IS READILY APPARENT THAT THE FUND WILL BE TOTALLY UTILIZED TO FINANCE THE BUDGET AND THERE WILL BE LITTLE OR NO MONEY AVAILABLE LEFT OVER TO FINANCE THE CAPITAL INVESTMENT PROGRAMS FOR WHICH THE FUND WAS SET UP. SEAGA CONCLUDED THAT AS THE NATURE OF THE EXPENDITURE WHICH THE BAUXITE LEVY FUNDS ARE SUPPOSED TO FINANCE IN THE DEFICIT ARE ALMOST ENTIRELY RECURRENT,

THE CDF IS FIRMLY LOCKED INTO THE BUDGET NOW AND FOREVER. IN OTHER WORDS, "WE MAY HAVE TO KISS THE CDF GOODBYE AS A SOURCE OF PRODUCTION INVESTMENTS IN MAJOR PROJECTS WHICH COULD HELP TO TRANSFORM THE ECONOMY, AND WELCOME IT AS JUST ANOTHER SOURCE OF BUDGETARY HOUSEKEEPING REVENUE FINANCING."

12. BANK OF JAMAICA WARNS: -- IN SUPPORT OF HIS GLOOMY BUDGET PROGNOSIS SEAGA QUOTED AN APRIL 1975 REPORT BY THE BANK OF JAMAICA TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE REPORT POINTED OUT CERTAIN IMMEDIATE DANGERS (IDENTIFIED BELOW) WHICH INDICATE THAT CORRECTIVE MEASURES NEED TO BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY.

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(A) IF UNCHECKED, IMPORTS WOULD EXCEED \$1,250 MILLION.

(B) UNCERTAINTY REGARDING BAUXITE AND ALUMINA PRODUCTION: ALREADY THERE ARE CUTBACKS OF 10 O/O TO 15 O/O IN EFFECT AND PRICES MAY CONTINUE TO BE WEAK.

(C) THE HARDENING OF THE TERMS OF OVERSEAS BORROWING INVOLVING THE SHORTENING OF MATURITIES TO FIVE YEARS AND THE ESCALATION OF FOREIGN CURRENCY PUBLIC DEBT CHARGES.

(D) THE LARGE FOREIGN EXCHANGE COMMITMENTS OF COMPANIES LIKE THE JAMAICA PUBLIC SERVICE COMPANY (\$19.7 MILLION IN INTEREST AND DEBT CHARGES FOR 1975).

13. AFTER MAKING A NUMBER OF ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT REVENUE AND OVER-EXPENDITURE, THE BANK REPORT SAID THAT JAMAICA COULD FIND ITSELF AT THE END OF THE YEAR WITH A FX RESERVE LEVEL OF \$78 TO \$127 MILLION WHICH "WOULD PUT US BACK IN CRISIS AND IN A WORSE POSITION THAN WE WERE IN JANUARY 1974 BECAUSE, UNLIKE THEM, WE HAVE NOTHING MORE TO COME FROM BAUXITE, SUGAR, OR ANY OTHER SOURCE. SUCH A LEVEL OF RESERVES, PARTICULARLY THE LOWER ONE, WOULD MAKE US A HIGH CREDIT RISK AND THE FOREIGN BORROWING CONTEMPLATED MIGHT NOT MATERIALIZE. THIS WOULD IN TURN REDUCE RESERVES. WE ARE BACK AT THE OLD PROBLEM -- THE COMBINED CLAIMS OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS EXCEED AVAILABLE RESOURCES PLUS SUCH BORROWED RESOURCES AS WE CAN OBTAIN."

14. THE BANK REPORT WENT ON TO RECOMMEND THAT GOVERNMENT, AS A MINIMUM, SHOULD INSURE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) NO EXPANSION OF THE BUDGET BY SUPPLEMENTARY EXPENDITURE.

(B) A DOWNWARD ADJUSTMENT IN THE BUDGET IF CDF RECEIPTS
FALL.

(C) THE IMPORT PROGRAM BE KEPT TO \$1,000 MILLION.

(D) THE INCREASED PURCHASING POWER OF LOW INCOME
GROUPS, BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF RE-
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DISTRIBUTING INCOME, BE CHanneLED INTO LOCAL FOOD AND
LOCALLY PRODUCED CONSUMER GOODS AND THAT PRODUCTION OF
THESE BE EXPANDED.

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(E) STRICT CONTROL OVER OVERSEAS BORROWING.

(F) NO CUTTING BACK OF RESOURCES NEEDED BY THE PRIVATE
SECTOR TO COPE WITH INFLATION AND EXPAND.

THE BANK CONCLUDED ITS SERIES OF RECOMMENDATIONS WITH THE STATEMENT: "THE ABOVE DOES NOT ENVISAGE A CHANGE IN THE EXCHANGE OF THE JAMAICAN DOLLAR AS A POLICY MEASURE. IF THE PROGRAM ABOVE IS NOT ACCEPTED AND FOLLOWED, HOWEVER, AN EXCHANGE RATE ALTERATION WOULD BECOME INEVITABLE."

15. INFLATION AND GROWTH RATES: -- SEAGA ACCUSED FINANCE MINISTER COORE OF STATISTICAL SLEIGHT OF HAND AND SLOPPY METHODOLOGY IN PROCLAIMING A 4.3 O/O INCREASE IN GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT LAST YEAR AND A LOWERING OF THE INFLATION RATE TO 11 O/O IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1975. IN REALITY, SEAGA CLAIMED, THE INFLATION RATE FOR THE FIRST QUARTER WAS 22.8 O/O IN THE KINGSTON AREA AND 26.4 O/O IN THE RURAL AREA. AS FOR THE GROWTH RATE, THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE GREATER REFINEMENT OF THE AVAILABLE DATA BEFORE AN ACCURATE FIGURE COULD BE ARRIVED AT. SEAGA DOUBTED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THAT THE GROWTH RATE WAS AS HIGH AS THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMED GIVEN THE 15 O/O NEGATIVE GROWTH IN THE DISTRIBUTIVE SECTOR, WHICH RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF 11,000 JOBS, AND THE POOR PERFORMANCE IN AGRICULTURE.

16. PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE SECTOR: -- A PATTERN HAS EMERGED WHICH SHOW GROWTH IN THOSE SECTORS FUELLED BY PUBLIC FINANCE, AND LOSS OR STAGNANCY IN THOSE AREAS WHICH ARE PREDOMINANTLY SUBJECT TO PRIVATE INVESTMENT, SETTING ASIDE THE MINING INDUSTRY WHICH IS A SPECIAL CASE. WITH GOVERNMENT CLOSE TO ITS FINANCIAL LIMIT IT NOW CAN ONLY CONSOLIDATE ITS GAINS. FURTHER ATTEMPTS TO PROMOTE GROWTH THROUGH PUBLIC FINANCE COULD PULL DOWN THE WHOLE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. SEAGA'S PRESCRIPTION IS TO REVIVE THE PRIVATE SECTOR, WITH ITS UNEXPENDED CAPACITY, TO PICK UP THE SLACK. CAPITAL EXITS AS THE BANKING SYSTEM IS EXCESSIVELY LIQUID WITH FUNDS WHICH NO ONE WILL INVEST. THE BEAUTY OF THIS STRATEGY IS "THAT OUT OF THE NEW REVENUES WHICH A PRIVATE SECTOR BOOM WILL GENERATE, THE FIELD WILL BE FOUND FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF PUBLIC SECTOR TAKE-OFF."

17. COMMENT: STRIPPED OF ITS POLITICAL RHETORIC, SEAGA'S ANALYSIS OF THE BUDGET APPEARS RIGHT ON THE MARK. THE BAUXITE LEVY, WHICH MANY HOPED WOULD PROVE THE PANACEA FOR JAMAICA'S ECONOMIC ILLS, HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY TOTALLY COMMITTED TO COVERING RECURRENT EXPENDITURE. FAILING A DRAMATIC AND EARLY IMPROVEMENT IN THE DEMAND FOR ALUMINUM, THE ECONOMIC PROGNOSIS FOR NEXT YEAR IS EVEN WORSE. WITH BAUXITE INDUSTRY SOURCES INDICATING PRODUCTION CUTBACKS OF AROUND 25 O/O BY THIS FALL, REVENUE WILL FALL WELL SHORT OF GOVERNMENT'S EXPECTATIONS.

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